VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

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[484] ilies to live in Vila Recôncavo and travel to their work and back daily. During the summer this trip is made by truck, but in the winter it is made by foot or if possible by canoe. The petroleum industry has attracted few local people as yet. Instead, strangers have come into the area as petroleum em-
• [521] ployees. A favorite conversation among fishermen is a discussion of whether they should give up fishing and go to work in the oil fields. The general feeling is that they are better off as fishermen. As they put it, if they fished for the same number of hours as the oil men work, they could earn more money than the petroleum workers. In their present occupation they can work as much or as little as they wish, the major determinant being whether there is enough in the house to eat and still a little left over for cigarettes, Coca-Colas, and occasional new clothes. They are an independent group, and are frequently criticized as being lazy because they will not take steady employment. This seems an unfair criticism in view of the rigors of fishing.

463 The others listed in the group of federal and state employ-
[875] ees have permanent appointments to their jobs and in all but a few cases are local people. The federal tax collector and
[632] his wife, who is one of the schoolteachers, are strangers to the area, but are now well integrated in the town. Three other schoolteachers are from other parts of the state and spend only the school year in Vila Recôncavo. There is a difference between the teachers who make Vila Recôncavo their home and those who do not. Those who spend only the school year there have little or no contact with the local population, apparently feeling that they are superior to anyone there. They are young women, but do not look for husbands among local men and openly admit they do not like the town. They are prominent in the group which calls the fishermen lazy and uncultured, and in general are unsympathetic to the town dwellers.

463 There are sixteen municipal employees, all of them local
632 people, consisting of the county secretary, the treasurer and his assistant, the contador who takes care of the county spending, the fiscal who is supposed to supervise the collecting of the county funds, three county tax collectors, and others who occupy minor posts such as courthouse porter. These positions are appointive, and as a result of the relative stability of the area's politics the appointees are seldom changed. The secretary is the man who does most of the county's adminis-

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The plantation worker's world is small, and conversational topics are limited to family matters such as births, deaths, marriages, sickness, and other intimate details of personal life, the problems of work, and difficulties of any sort. The planter can know the daily life and thoughts of the workers only through observation, for he himself lives quite differently. However, his knowledge of the workers is apt to be profound in spite of the differences, and he knows much more of their lives than they know of his. On the other hand, visiting between the workers and the members of Class B is on a much more equal basis, for the differences between their modes of living and thinking are small.

When the workers are invited to a party by the planters, it is usually an affair given for them, such as a Christmas celebration. At such a time the planter is host and spectator, rather than host and participant. At other times the workers may get together a song and dance group, a samba, and go to the owner's house for the evening. This is frequently explained as "keeping the patron from being lonely." Again the owner is spectator, for the samba, performed exclusively by women, is a type of folk dance seldom engaged in by the more sophisticated upper class.

Class B in the rural area is only beginning to feel any sort of group consciousness, for the occupational institutions it represents are relatively new and it is not yet aligned in any way with the corresponding class in town. There are two overseers who lack any formal education--indeed, who cannot read or write. In all cases the male members of this class have set up and maintained a family, educating their children and seeing to it that they marry as well as possible. As a rule such men are "self-made"--they have risen from the ranks of workers as a result of their own ability, sagacity, sense of responsibility, and desire to improve themselves. They are distinguished from the workmen by these traits, which seem to develop even further as they have the opportunity to use their initiative.

Members of this group usually acquire numerous possessions of their own, such as horses, oxen and carts, mules, and donkeys which can be put to gainful use. They also operate small stores on their plantations--in one case even a chain of stores, one on each of three plantations. They also try to buy a small farm somewhere nearby. Frequently the employer facilitates such acquisitions as a sort of bonus, lending money or even giving some to the overseer.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

harvesting and milling. The factory operates twenty-four hours a day during this season. In the winter, when they have more leisure, travel is too difficult, for the roads disappear in mud. Few of the rural people go to the town of Vila Recôncavo, for it has nothing to attract them except the boat to Salvador and the priest, whom they sometimes visit to have a Mass said or for a burial. The free movies recently innovated by the Petroleum Council and located a mile from the factory have been a boon to the rural people, but as a rule only the men attend. In fact, almost any kind of off-plantation gathering is attended predominantly by men.

On most plantations the casa de farinha is a social gathering place, and both males and females congregate there to talk about the latest news while they work. The women also gossip at the local well as they fetch water or remain there washing their clothes. Their everyday lives are busy, and there is little time for purely social activities. The day begins and ends early. Soon after dark the lights go out, the houses close, and silence reigns except for the noise coming from the casa de farinha, which may operate all night, or the lonesome singing of the caatingueiros housed in the barracks, or the strong rhythmic sound of the drums coming from a distant candomblé ceremony. Because there is little work for women on a plantation, the "extra" girls, those for whom there are no potential husbands, ask the planter to get them work as domestics in the city; this is usually easy, for there is nearly always someone in Salvador looking for a "good, strong country girl" to work in the home. Occasionally, if a worker's son is especially intelligent and industrious, he too may be placed in some position in the city.

Class C comprises the majority of the population in the town of Vila Recôncavo and includes most of the occupations listed in Group 3 of the preceding chapter--that is, fishermen, gardeners, and artisans. There are no "pure whites" in this class, but, as in the rural area, a few "whites of the land" and the full range of mestiços, whose various color and social characteristics will be discussed later. The people of Class C live for the most part in the lower section of town, in the areas called Cortume, Largo de Santa Cruz, Rua Nova, Boqueirão, Cumbamba, and Caquende. The great majority of them own their homes, although the land belongs to the Fazenda Engenho da Vila, to the church, or to the prefeitura, and is rented for a small yearly sum. The houses are small, usually

[Class C Families]

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able for the total number of marital unions formed during the years, so it is impossible to know the percentage of amasiado unions throughout the entire population.

TABLE 8
CIVIL MARRIAGES BY AGE GROUPS

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Males		Females	
minors under 18	1	minors under 15	2
18-22	4	15-19	6
23-27	6	20-24	7
28-32	5	25-29	2
33-37	1	30-34	1
38-43	2	35-39	1
	19		19

585
583

There are occasions when a couple marry in the church only after having lived together for many years, at which time their children may be the principal witnesses at the wedding. Such a wedding always gives the couple a feeling of satisfaction and well-being, for there is sometimes a certain shame attached to the amasiado state, especially when it is necessary to fill in official forms such as birth registration, the census, or registration at the Institute of Vila Recôncavo. A woman who can say "meu esposo" or "meu marido" (my husband) feels a certain superiority over the one who can only say "meu homem" (my man).

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The attitude toward children in Class C is somewhat ambivalent. Married women with as many as ten or twelve children may say they never wanted children, but simply "took what God sent." Frequently little girls pray that their mother will have another child so they may take care of it. All girls from the age of seven to thirteen or fourteen seem to like small children. There are few men who do not want children. Even though the mother may say she did not want them, she always seems pleased with them after they are born, and children, especially boys, are well loved and spoiled. Part of the women's gossip is often about another woman who is about to have a baby, and many women with five or six children of their own accuse others of having children "como ratos" (like rats) because they have eight or nine.

[521]

There is no use of contraceptives in Class C, although they

[Class C Families]

Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups with his exploits, detail by detail, so it is always known who has visited him. These men are in no way ostracized, and continue a normal life alongside the others. There are also two cases of men connected with candomblé who are suspected of homosexual tendencies, but there are no definite data about them. Public opinion, nevertheless, is generally against homosexuality, and there was one case in which action was taken. A married man "pegou um menino" (caught a little boy) in the men's bath at one of the wells. Ordinarily the men enter the bath alone, the others waiting outside until the one inside has finished. On this occasion the man found the boy already there and entered with him. Later the boy told what had happened and the neighborhood was incensed and compelled the man to leave town at least temporarily. The boy's only remark was that he had not been paid!

Boys in their late teens sometimes jokingly refer to the clube de veados (homosexuals' club), intimating their exploratory experiences with one another, and what they have tried when they went together to Salvador or Centro, where, according to them, the streets are full of veados. No such reports were found for the rural people, but the complaint that young men were viciados nas mulas (corrupted by the use of mules) was common. Another case at a distant factory concerned two women who were living together, one very strong, large and bearded, and very jealous of anyone who even looked at the other. This case was well known, and considered hilarious by the neighbors.

Family life in Class C is characterized by a lack of privacy. The house of a family in this class has at the most two bedrooms, frequently only one, in which all members must sleep. It is common for a young couple to have only one bed when their marriage begins, in which they, as well as their first and second children, sleep. The use of a cradle for infants is rare. The baby usually sleeps with the parents, and as it grows older, or as new babies are born, it is relegated to the foot of the bed. Loud and bitter are the complaints about children who wet the bed, which many of them do for many years. Most mothers say they try to wake up several times during the night in order to hold the infant over the side of the bed to allow it to perform its natural functions, which makes life more pleasant for the others in the bed. In the morning the floor is thoroughly washed.

During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

A stranger is often surprised to discover individuals whom he had not previously thought of as related turning out to be brothers or other close relatives.

The gradually improving status of women is today working against *mancebia*, and many of the "more scrupulous" families discourage it. In these, the wife, if she knows of her husband's affairs, may reprove him, as also may other members of the family and its friends. But usually, as an upper-class woman said, "the ladies talk very little about it, and then only with their most intimate friends. The subject is not generally discussed."

Although in recent years at least two feminists have become quite prominent, and one of these has been elected to the state legislature, the common family pattern at Bahia is still patriarchal. Tempered, of course, by the natural claims which primary relations always tend to set up, the role of the husband and father has, throughout Bahian history, been a decidedly dominant role. For instance, it is said to have formerly been the custom—at Bahia today in some instances a custom still observed—for the husband to select and purchase the materials for his wife's clothing and even indicate the manner in which the goods should be made up. Formerly, women, other than prostitutes, servants, and other individuals of inferior status, were rarely seen upon the streets or in public places, the home being considered their proper sphere. Even in the home, women seem to have rarely appeared in the presence of strangers. Tollenare, visiting Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century, wrote, "At my arrival [in the house of a merchant], the women disappeared, and only the head of the house remained in the *salão* to talk to me." In another connection he remarked: "During eight months of residence in Pernambuco I never once saw the